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[54] doubtedly occurs, both in homosexual and heterosexual forms. The autobiographies of Tilapada and Lomani contain accounts of girls' assuming the role of males in play, but these anecdotes do not indicate that any overt homosexual practices were employed. They may represent an ego problem in which certain girls were rebellious at the less privileged feminine role and were escaping in fantasy to the masculine one. There is, however, one reported case of mutual masturbation between girls. The society disapproves and is shocked by overt homosexual practices between girls but does not object to play activities of the sort described in Tilapada's autobiography. Homosexual practices between small boys are reported. An informant insisted that "only small boys of between five and seven" indulge in this sort of play. It is said that if such behavior comes to the attention of any adult the children are scolded, but that it is not considered an offense of sufficient magnitude to warrant corporal punishment. It seems unlikely that sexual practices of this type are anything but sporadic occurrences, and they certainly do not loom as a problem in the awareness of the Atimelanger.

Play groups of boys often join groups of girls in field houses for several days at a time. Adults are usually suspicious of such alliances and are inclined to warn the girls against the boys. These play groups usually imitate adult relationships. This may at times take the form of attempted intercourse, performed either secretly in pairs or within a group of age-mates. As one informant put it, "Children hear their mothers and fathers having intercourse. Then they say to each other, 'Our parents do this, so let us also.'" Such behavior is not approved by adults, but when reported or discovered it is likely to be shrugged off as mere play. There is also much rivalry between boys and girls, which may break out into roughhousing that is definitely sexual among the older children. In younger children actual physical contact between those of the same or the opposite sex is casual and unselfconscious. De-
[515] lousing, a form of perfectly proper and affectionate attention, is seen frequently among boys and girls. In general, bodily contacts are taken casually by both children and adults.

● [725] The freedom of children in relation to sex matters was illustrated by a bit of free play set up for them, with the purpose of securing sibling rivalry play. An amputation doll * was used to represent the mother, a rubber doll the older sibling, and a small celluloid doll the nursing infant.

* An amputation doll is one whose joints are so constructed that the figure can be dismembered and reassembled.

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Part 4 DESCRIPTIVE NORMS AND RANGES

Chapter 19

Results of the Porteus Maze Tests

● 125 DR. PORTEUS was kind enough to score and comment upon the fifty-five tests bearing his name that were used in Alor. The Porteus Maze Tests explore the problem-solving intelligence of subjects by means of labyrinth designs of increasing complexity. In addition, Dr. Porteus believes that certain personal characteristics can be determined from the manner in which a subject performs.

Sample scores of two subjects from whom autobiographies were obtained are given to show the manner of grading and commenting on the tests. The roman numerals represent the standardized mental age for the test used.

X 154 *Malelaka* (male, approximately 45 years old)

VI. Some uncertainty at first choice point.
VII. Two self-corrected errors occurring together. Should count one as trial.
VIII. Overconfident error.
IX. Again shows disposition to commit himself to the wrong course and then correct it very quickly.
X. Very thick line.
XI. Shows impatience—prefers short cut out to opening rather than the roundabout course that brings success. Second attempt—very heavy line, small error.
XII. Cuts across line. Second trial successful.
XIV. Not completed.

Test score: 9½ years. This individual is probably more intelligent than the score indicates but is impulsive and possibly resentful. His tendency to commit himself to action without thought seems quite marked. I would doubt his success in social adjustment.

Kolmani the Seeress (female, approximately 40 years old)

V. Last error—possibly misunderstood.
VI. Evident misunderstanding. Second attempt successful but with great effort. Does not anticipate changes in direction of pencil.
VII. Error repeated. Failed.
VIII. Second trial successful.
IX. Failed.

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Test score: 6 years. This performance needs little comment. The fact that Kolmani, after succeeding in Year VI, was not able to carry over her experience to the next test indicates rather poor planning ability. I should suggest some emotional instability.

Dr. Porteus' procedure and his own summary have been excerpted from a letter accompanying the scored tests.

"I am surprised at the high level of the men's performance. The average of 28 scores was 12.76 years, which would give them an approximate average IQ of 91. If, however, two 6-year scores obtained by men who evidently had a very imperfect comprehension of the test were omitted, the average would rise to 13.7, with an average IQ of 97. Such a high average would seem to indicate that the Maze is comparatively independent of schooling.

"My comments on the quality of performance were quite independent of your notes and comments. I was very careful not to read any of these until I had examined and made notations on each test performance. Of course, I was at a great disadvantage in not being able actually to observe the test responses, so that in some cases I could not tell whether the mistakes were due to impulsiveness or to mental confusion and anxiety. Some of the things that I looked for were control of the pencil, nervous reactions at points where a decision had to be made, the place where the mistake occurred, and the like. As far as I can see, the main difficulty that unschooled individuals experienced was due to overattention to the task of drawing between the lines. The individual who was preoccupied with the manipulation of the pencil was apparently prevented from spending as much time in planning his course. Once the initial difficulties were got over, the unschooled cases seemed to do very well.

"Generally speaking, there was a great deal of evidence of dogged persistence and determination to succeed. In some cases, however, I felt that the individual believed that his prestige would suffer if he could not solve the problem, and in such cases there was a tendency to cut across the lines to the nearest opening, even though the individual knew perfectly well that it was against the rules of the game.

"The women's performance was decidedly inferior to that of the men. There were quite a number of cases in which there was evident misunderstanding of the nature of the test. Excluding four records below six years where failure was evidently due to inability to understand what was required, the women's average was 9.43 years, which would give an approximate intelligence quotient of 67. This poor showing of

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153 the women corresponds with what I have found in my experience with native peoples. They are less willing to attempt the test and seem to think that it represents a task that is outside the feminine province. Only two of the group reached a 14-year level.

125 "Your results are not perhaps strictly comparable to mine, as the conditions of testing were somewhat different. Your subjects had the advantage of an interpreter and you also modified the procedure by marking the point of exit in each test. This, I think, would make the tests somewhat easier. I suppose the fact that you did not give four trials in the 12- and 14-year tests was due to a lack of test blanks. However, while the conditions were more difficult in that respect, it was compensated for by the fact that you allowed some trials to continue after a mistake had been made.

"I think that your group shows a persistence that was even greater than that shown by the Australian aborigines."

These comments, plus certain supplementary data, can in part be tabulated as follows:

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No. of Cases	*Age Range*	*IQ*	*MA*	*Omitted Cases of Noncomprehension*
Men 26	18–45	97	13.7	2
Women 22	15–45	67	9.43	4

157 114 The unsystematized comments made by Dr. Porteus following each individual's score cannot be considered on the same level of precision or accuracy as the IQ scoring, but are of considerable interest because they were made with no knowledge of the people or the culture and therefore represent "blind" diagnoses. In some individual cases these semiliterary comments of evaluation are so acute, judging from my knowledge of the individuals, that it seems desirable to attempt some kind of summary of them. Readers may not agree with the manner in which I have categorized some of the terms employed, but in any event they will be able to reorganize them as they choose.

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Negative	*Men*	*Women*	*Positive*	*Men*	*Women*
I. Nervous and anxious..	7	7	Confident	2	1
Apprehensive of error.	0	1	Improved in confidence	3	0
	–	–		–	–
	7	8		5	1
II. Poor planning or none	2	7	Planning	2	0
			Foresight	1	0
			Thoughtfulness	1	0
	–	–		–	–
	2	7		4	0

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Chapter 20

Word Associations

125 AFTER a year in Atimelang I compiled a list of one hundred words in Abui, selecting those words which seemed to me to be charged with emotional connotations in daily life or those which occurred frequently in dreams and autobiographies. These were interspersed with words which are often strongly colored in our own society, for example sexual and excretory terms. Lastly, words were interspersed which seemed in both societies to have a neutral emotional tone, for example landscape terms. This list, needless to say, was selected purely on the basis of impressions. The stimulus words are given on page 564.

[126] The test was given to 17 men and 19 women. Each subject was given the same instructions. The following is a literal translation of the Abui in which they were given:

"I shall speak once; you speak once. Follow what rises within you; do not think, only speak. If what you speak is not good, that does not matter. I also shall speak what is not good. Do not answer with the names of people; do not answer with Malay words. For example, I may say *black*, you may answer *white;* or, I may say *far* and you may answer *foreign;* or, I may say *good* and you may answer *bad*, or *tasty*, or *my sibling*, or *Itkira moko*. There are one hundred words; after fifty we shall stop to catch our breaths. Have you understood?"

157 Of the total responses (1700) by men 96.5 per cent (1640) were 125 usable. Of the total responses (1900) by women 96.5 per cent (1831) were usable. By usable is meant that there were no language misunderstandings, either on my part or on the part of the informant, and that there were no perseverations. There were no neologisms and only one instance of playing with sound associations. In this case the stimulus word *side shield* (*koli*) produced the response *you lie* (*okoli*). There were, however, at least 3 subjects whose responses were more or less stereotyped; that is, they responded with a color, like black, which was contained in the instructions, or with a number or a possessive prefix when they were in difficulties. The significant point in this comparison between the percentages of usable responses from men and women is that they are identical. This might suggest that both sexes have equal language facility.

In comparing responses words were grouped into categories. For example, to the stimulus word *path* the following response categories were inherent in the material: government trail; go, wander, follow;

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weeds; garden, field; villages; slopes; closed. The 7 categories include all responses by men and women. The response categories to the 100 stimulus words were compared for men and women, and 77.9 per cent of the men's and 74.5 per cent of the women's responses fell into the same categories. Again, the significant point is the high degree of uniformity between the men and women. In a sense it may be considered a measure of cultural standardization, according to which we might hazard the guess that three quarters of all verbal reactions among adults are culturally determined. This uniformity is further emphasized by the fact that to 33 stimulus words at least 8 men and 9 women gave the same response. These words and the responses were:

Stimulus Word *	*Response*
1. raincape (*adik anui*)	sleeping mat (*adik tamuring*)
5. woman's areca basket	carrying basket
6. rice	corn
10. feces	urine
14. war or hunt arrow	arrow of some other type
15. verandah, bench	house, or, in the house
19. her vagina, copulate	penis
21. dog	pig
26. corn	rice
32. dance-place altar (*kameng*)	dance place (*masang*)
33. man's loincloth; type of bride-price	some type of textile
36. shawl of native weave	another type of textile
39. dance (substantive and verb)	versify
43. dance place (see no. 32)	dance-place altar
51. wild pig	domestic pig
52. evil spirit	paired synonym †
54. gong	moko
57. my mother	father
58. large ravine or river	small ravine or river
61. crayfish	crab
62. kinsmen	synonym
65. father (see no. 57)	my mother
68. my younger sibling	elder sibling
69. cooking pot	calabash dish
70. rat	chicken
76. my elder sibling (see no. 68)	younger sibling
78. sleeping mat (see no. 1)	raincape
84. betel	(chew) areca
86. sea or salt water	pool
87. his penis	vagina or copulate
88. side shield	back shield
94. man's areca basket	basket (general term)
95. village boundary (*kawada*)	village (*melang*)

* The number preceding each stimulus word indicates its position in the original list of 100 words.

† This refers to a synonym which cannot be used alone, but must be used with a partner word of the same meaning.

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157 In contrast to these 33 stimulus words, which resulted in a high degree of response uniformity between the sexes, there were 17 stimulus words to which the highest number of similar responses by men and women differed.

Stimulus Word	Men		Women	
	Response	No. of Responses	Response	No. of Responses
1. path	government trail	8	follow (i.e., go, wander)	7
7. my navel	my stomach	10	his or a stomach	7
8. woman's loincloth	man's loincloth	6	wear	7
17. my sibling of opposite sex	sibling of the same sex	5	father	3
20. joint, knot, mountain, island	soil and slope	3 ea.	sit (walk) on	4
22. areca	coconut	8	betel	8
24. beget	paired synonym	7	child	8
38. gale	wind	5	rain	5
41. dream	sleep	5	soul (wanders)	5
42. urine	urinate	7	feces	9
45. invoke	sacrifice and spirit	8	speak, say	4
49. sky	above and earth	4 ea.	cloud	9
53. pool	sea	8	large	4
75. fire	light it	6	put (out)	4
77. cut garden	field and plant	5 ea.	cut weeds	7
89. firewood	cut	3	carry and sacred hearth	3 ea.
98. wound, creditor	sores	4	cut (slash) someone	4

157 These two lists, supplemented by some of the original material which cannot be presented here, permit us to make certain observations. For instance, in the kinship responses men and women show a high degree of uniformity in respect to complementary kinship terms like *mother–father* and *elder sibling–younger sibling*. *My sibling of opposite sex*, however, produced only 5 agreements among men in the response *sibling of the same sex*, whereas among the women only 3 were in agreement with each other in the response of *father* to *my sibling of opposite sex*. In other words, it would seem not only that attitudes are less fixed in response to *my sibling of opposite sex* but also that men and women differ in their reactions.

In general the parental figure bulks larger in kinship awareness than any other. Eight kinship terms used as stimulus words* produced 37

125 * These included *mother, father, elder sibling, younger sibling, sibling of opposite sex, grandparent, kinsmen, friend.*

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3 by women. In view of the preoccupation with finance in this culture, the fact that no wealth interpretations were given to words which could be so interpreted may point to an avoidance of areas of difficulty and, by extension, support my argument for the weakness of the ego in Alorese personality.

Responses to other words or groups of words can be briefly summarized. *Fire*, for instance, drew from 6 men the positive response of *to light*, whereas 4 women responded to it in a negative fashion with *out*. These were the 2 responses of highest consistency. To 4 words dealing with illness or pain (nos. 13, 34, 96, 98), of 132 usable responses only 5 were recovery words and 5 were treatment or curing words. Again this seems to indicate a low positive or active attitude. In response to the word *sacrifice* (literally, smear verandah), 15 responses out of 32 dealt with naming, cooking, or eating food and 7 more were variants on the term "to give a feast." Stimulus words for various kinds of quarreling (nos. 29, 46, 73) produced responses that in large part were terms for other types of quarreling, and these answers seem neither consistently to magnify nor to reduce the degree of violence implied in the stimulus word. To the 2 weapon words (*arrow*, *bow*) the responses were again predominately other types of weapons. Only 3 responses to *bow* and *arrow* out of 67 usable answers were *shoot*. The response *person dead by violence* occurred only 3 times to these two words. The decorative, as opposed to the aggressive, connotation of weapons may be indicated by 17 responses out of 103 that meant *wear* or *carry*.

Aside from these specific responses, the absence of qualifying words seems marked. For instance, to the stimulus word *my ear*, only 1 person responded *deaf*. There were scattered responses of *bad*, *large*, and *small*, but these came primarily in answer to the qualified stimulus word like *large ravine* or *river* (no. 58).

Unfortunately this word test was not given with a stop watch. This is particularly unfortunate since the considered opinion of some psychologists is that reaction time is a safer guide than the character of the association.* Words that produced delayed responses were checked only on an impressionistic basis during the test. Considering the delayed responses in connection with perseverations and irrelevant answers may give some hint of the stimulus words that gave subjects difficulty. These were:

* H. M. Leach and M. F. Washburn, "Some Tests by the Association Reaction Method of Mental Diagnosis," *The American Journal of Psychology*, 21:164 (1910).

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Stimulus Word	Delayed Response	Perseveration or Irrelevancy	Total
9. his (her) soul.....	10	13	23
41. dream	8	1	9
45. invoke	8	3	11
3. foreign money.....	7	3	10
35. I think.....	5	9	14
18. fish	5	3	8
87. his penis.....	5	1	6
28. (to) fly.....	4	5	9
48. (to) pay.....	4	2	6
	56	40	96

It is interesting that words like *soul*, *think*, *invoke*, and *dream*, which are not concrete, should create delay and confusion. This agrees with word test experience in our own culture when abstract or unusual words are used. The difficulties over the word *penis* were all 5 on the part of men. Three of these men had also given aberrant responses to the word *vagina*, and all 5 were men who ranged from unsuccessful to only moderately successful financially. The responses, including those of 3 husbands and wives, are tabulated below and may be suggestive of personal difficulties.

Responses to Stimulus Words

	Vagina (*penis is normal response*)	*Penis* (*vagina is normal response*)
Likma	penis	wild pig testicles
Tilapada, his wife.....	remove woman's loincloth	bad
Atafani	many	urinate from
Kolang, his wife.....	kill, cut	vagina
Alurkomau	penis	stomach, tooth
Kawaimau, his wife.....	penis	vagina
Malema	water	kill, cut
Fuimai,* his sister-in-law	buttocks	his tail copulates
Padakafeli	also (perseveration from stimulus word *fish*?)	his, or near him

* Village gossip accused this pair of illicit relations. Malema was about 25 and still unmarried. He lived in his brother's household. His brother was absent most of the time. Malema's response to the stimulus word *feces* was *food*; to *village boundary*, *wander outside of*.

It would seem from this tabulation that men are more vulnerable than women in respect to sexual adjustment and that the vulnerability is related to their own organ. This is of course only a guess. It does show, however, the possible value of a word association test in opening up for the field worker areas of individual and group problems in adjustment.

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In general, the use of a word association test phrased in the terms of the local culture and in connection with psycho-cultural investigations seems promising from even this avowedly inadequate beginning. Had the test been given earlier in the course of the field work and had the results been tabulated in the field, it could have been made to yield better results than it actually did. This experiment also indicates that a word test in our culture might be used for social diagnosis and not merely for individual diagnosis. The Kent-Rosanoff schedule of responses is rich in cultural implications, as a casual comparison of the responses to *man* and *woman* will immediately reveal.

However, even the tentative conclusion which may be drawn from this experiment in field techniques seems to coincide to a large degree with the modal personality postulated for the people of Atimelang. The high similarity of responses between men and women might indicate that a sex-based dichotomy is not so pronounced as cultural theory indicates. This ties in with earlier comments upon cross-skills and the ability of the sexes to live independently of each other. The inconsistency in responses to *my sibling of opposite sex* may be a reflection of the uncertainty concerning masculine and feminine roles created by the discrepancy between theory and practice in the culture as well as by far deeper psychological forces at work. The importance of the parental figure is confirmed by the word test, although other materials are necessary to bring out the disappointing aspects of the parental image. The reaction to sex words indicates that such inhibitions as may exist are not major ones and that they are more characteristic of men than of women.

If my argument that sex and wealth are linked is correct, the rareness with which homonyms having wealth meanings are so interpreted may be further confirmation of difficulties in those two areas. To *milk* (of woman's breast) consumption responses predominate. This is in marked contrast to the absence of consumption responses to vegetable foods, which it will be recalled are owned and produced by women and in connection with which greater deprivations occur than in connection with nursing. Certainly the practical and concrete quality, as opposed to the abstract quality, of thought is suggested by reactions to words like *think, dream, invoke*, and so forth, and is consistent with the point made earlier in the volume that the Atimelangers are not preoccupied with speculative or religious thinking.

The following stimulus words and phrases were used in the word association test:

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1. raincape (*adik anui*, literally, pandanus rain)
2. path (*safoka*)
3. foreign money, i.e., Dutch Colonial coinage (*sung*)
4. piglet, young animal (*fila*)
5. woman's areca basket (*fulak*)
6. rice (*ayak*)
7. my navel (*nabik*)
8. woman's loincloth (*ka*)
9. his (her) soul, shadow, ghost (*bmoting*)
10. feces (*asi*)
11. moko (*tafa*)
12. crawl – like a child (*kmaungda*, literally, cix and verbal suffix)
13. my head aches – also euphemism for menses (*nierkai narik*)
14. war or hunt arrow; type of bride-price (*kafuk*)
15. verandah, bench (*lik*)
16. spate (*yo*)
17. my sibling of opposite sex (*newa*)
18. fish (*afu*)
19. her vagina, copulate (*baiy*)
20. joint, knot, mountain, island (*buku*)
21. dog (*kai*)
22. areca (*fu*)
23. ladder, necklace (*awiring*)
24. beget – the impersonal form (*talat*)
25. friend (*fala*)
26. corn (*fati*)
27. bow (*peti*)
28. (to) fly (*li*)
29. make noise – implying to quarrel (*kawai*)
30. seer or his familiar spirit (*ahuang*)
31. rain (*anui*)
32. dance-place altar (*kamang*)
33. man's loincloth, type of bride-price (*paheb*)
34. illness, bamboo water tube (*aloi*)
35. I think (*nomin tuk*, literally measure within me)
36. shawl of native weave (*nong*)
37. spittle (*puyung*)
38. gale (*abana*)
39. dance – substantive and verb (*luk*)
40. soil (*anui*)
41. dream – substantive and verb (*piela*)
42. urine (*uai*)
43. dance place (*masang*)
44. bamboo water conduit (*ye taliy*)
45. invoke (*ahang*)
46. fight with swords – impersonal form (*set tot*)
47. sacrifice (*lik padok*, literally, platform sweat)
48. (to) pay (*tang*)
49. sky (*adiy*)
50. my tongue (*nalift*)
51. wild pig (*teyfo*)
52. evil spirit (*kari berka*)
53. pool (*yewa*)
54. gong (*fokung*)
55. red (*kika*)
56. live – in a place (*lak lai*, literally, walk, wander about)
57. my mother (*nia*)
58. large ravine or river (*lu foka*)
59. village burns (*melang teras*)
60. his blood; go to him (*bewe*)
61. crayfish (*eti*)
62. kinsmen (*serang*)
63. house; kin groups (*fala*)
64. chicken, bird (*rua*)
65. father (*mama*)
66. village guardian spirit (*nienai*)
67. pigpen (*feba*, literally, pig fence)
68. my younger sibling (*nenaba*)
69. cooking pot (*dieng*)
70. rat (*rui*)
71. house post (*taba*)
72. field knife (*kaweni*)
73. fight with fists – impersonal (*taluk*)
74. snake (*mo ni*)
75. fire (*arawaang*)
76. my elder sibling (*nenana*)
77. cut garden – to clear weeds (*uti tek*)
78. sleeping mat (*adik tamuring*, literally, pandanus sweat)
79. my ear (*nawey*)
80. cloud (*tabo*)
81. grave, (to) bury (*nabuk*)
82. earthquake (*taiyoka*)
83. hawk – one type (*kila*)
84. betel (*meti*)
85. bean – one type (*takoi*)
86. sea, salt water (*tamaraa*)
87. his penis (*bato*)
88. side shield (*koli*)
89. firewood (*ara*)
90. room (*fala bomi*, literally, house within it)

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91. empty (*taha*)
92. person dead by violence (*tafang*)
93. milk (*tit mama*, literally, breast juice)
94. man's areca basket (*hanno*)
95. village boundary (*hawada*)
96. my stomach aches (*natok nanik*)
97. my grandparent (*nakata*)
98. wound; creditor (*nanna*)
99. pig (*fe*)
100. payoff, as at a feast (*beyang*, literally, distribute among them)

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Regarding the drawings collected from children the following figures summarize briefly the material available. 124

	Boys	*Girls*
Number of children	33	22
Approximate age range	6–16	6–16
Number of performances	60	33
Number of different objects portrayed	76	49
Range of number of objects portrayed per 30-minute session	5–26	7–26
Average number of objects drawn per session by one subject	11.4	14.8

Children were given pencil and paper, materials which they had never handled, and were asked to draw whatever they wished. An arbitrary time-span of thirty minutes was set. Parenthetically it should be noted that drawings done with pencil on smooth paper will differ from those done with crayon, ink, or paint. Any cross-cultural comparisons must take into account the mediums used by the children. 125

The first obvious step is an analysis of the subject matter which preoccupies children.

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ANALYSIS OF SUBJECTS PORTRAYED BY BOYS AND GIRLS

Subject	*Boys*	*Girls*
Plants		
palm	59	11
tree	53	30
fern	47	77
flower	39	20
seed	13	12
tuber	4	27
fruit	4	0
cassava plant	4	9
weed	3	5
squash	2	0
squash plant	0	2
bean	2	0
tobacco plant	2	0
coconut plant	1	0
coconut leaf	0	3
leaf	1	5
grass	0	1
eggplant	0	1
banana leaf	0	1
branch	0	1
	334	205

Subject	*Boys*	*Girls*
Animals		
snake	26	6
hawk	18	0
chicken	17	6
lizard	14	1
bird	10	0
fish	8	5
fishbone	0	7
dog	5	0
duck	4	1
horse	3	0
eel	3	0
goat	3	0
pig	2	1
walking stick (insect)	2	0
firefly	2	1
cockatoo	2	0
butterfly	1	0
dragonfly	1	0
slug	1	0
rat	1	1
insect	1	0
frog	1	0
	125	29

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Subject	Boys	Girls
Buildings		
house	54	22
ladder	12	25
church	9	0
bench	5	0
table	1	0
house beam	0	1
	81	48
Ceremonial objects		
village guardian spirit	26	4
evil spirit	20	1
boat	12	0
carved house beam	5	0
dance place	4	0
spirit carving	4	0
familiar spirit carving	2	0
spirit altar	0	2
spirit	2	0
carved board	1	1
altar	1	0
island of dead	0	1
	77	9
Cosmology		
star	39	23
moon	17	8
sun	2	0
	58	31
Human beings		
man	34	1
person	16	2
self	3	1
woman	3	0
hand	0	1
leg	0	1
	54	7
Tools		
tattoo design	3	119
comb	8	29
knife	12	3
necklace	2	9
moko	6	0
bow and arrow	3	2
gong	3	1
cooking pot	0	2
clothing	2	0
rope	1	0
bean game	1	0
ax	0	1
corn rack	0	1
rice basket	0	1
	41	168
Foreign objects		
scissors	4	0
gun	4	0
ship	3	0
flag	1	0
saw	1	0
bookcase	1	0
armrest (in school)	1	0
motorboat	1	0
clock	1	0
	17	0

[125] The identifications of subject matter were made by the child at the end of each session. A few sheets which seem to be typical are reproduced in Figures 2 through 9. A peculiar identification of the "flower design" with a hawk (Figure 2-d) recurred frequently. I can only note this; there is no available explanation. An obvious point to be made in regard to subject matter is the boys' greater interest in foreign and ceremonial objects. Significant in their performance is the low percentage of the three currencies—gongs, mokos, and pigs. The boys were all under the age when finance begins to play a vital role in men's lives. The absence of currency objects, easy enough to draw, may indicate not only a lack of preoccupation with their coming adult roles but may also reflect the lack of emphasis on training for adult male skills. The subject matter portrayed by the girls indicates a narrower range

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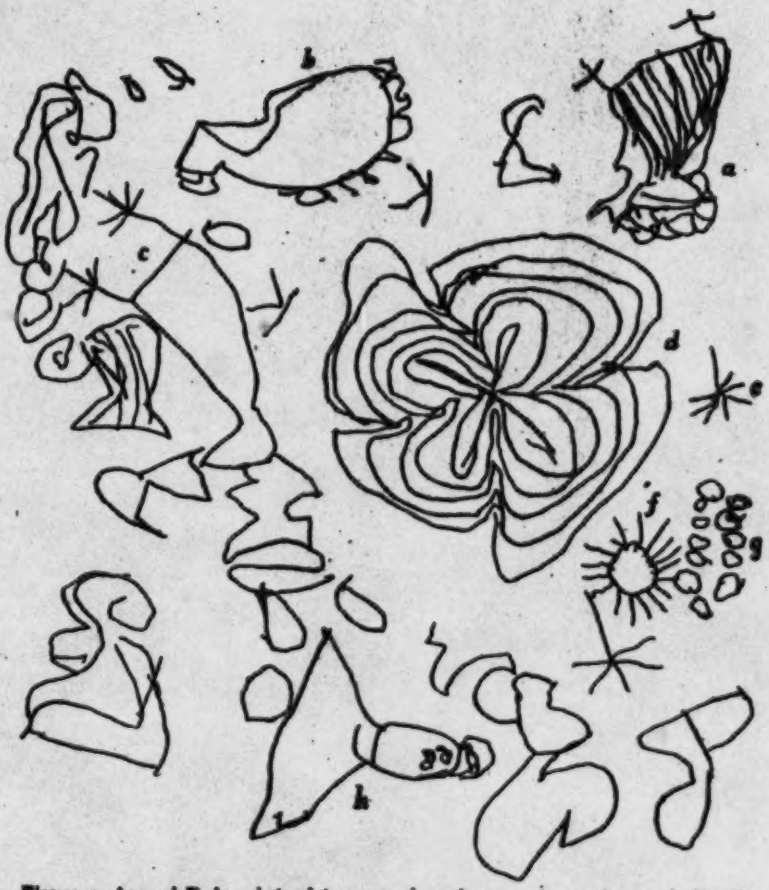

Figure 2. Atamai Padamai (male), approximately 11 years. *a.* house. *b.* lizard. *c.* chicken. *d.* flower. *e.* coconut tree. *f.* feces. *g.* bean-game board. *h.* person. The others he could not identify.

Figure 3. Fanlang Maifani (male), approximately 13 years. *a.* tree. *b.* coconut palm. *c.* chicken eating maize. *d.* field knife. *e.* fern. *f.* mango tree. *g.* foreign type house on coast. *h.* his younger brother. *i.* areca palm. *j.* cacia tree. *k.* cassava plants. *l.* lineage house. *m.* papaya tree.

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Figure 4. Atamau Maugiki (male), approximately 14 years. *a.* coconut tree. *b.* fern. *c.* evil spirit (*kari*). *d.* village guardian spirit carving. *e.* seer's evil familiar spirit (*kodu*). *f.* fern. *g.* spirit altar. *h.* hawk (flower). *i.* village guardian spirit carving. *j.* spirit boat carving.

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Figure 5. Atoaura Maiuna (male), approximately 14 years. *a.* necklace. *b.* snake. *c.* banana palm. *d.* coconut palm. *e.* tamarind tree. *f.* coconut palm.

Figure 6. Pahoni Language (Semai), approximately 2 years, 6 months old, girl. A, arrow pattern; B, leaves; C, fishbones; D, leaves; E, fishbones; F, fishbone design; G, crocodile; H, leaves; I, crossover pattern; J, bagwah tree.

Figure 9. Fakhanni Langmani (female), approximately 9 years. a. tattoo design, b. knife, c. fern, d. three stars, e. snake, f. two stars, g. i. tattoo design, j. unidentified tree, k. broadleaf tree, l. conifer plant, m. chicken, n. snake, o. human.

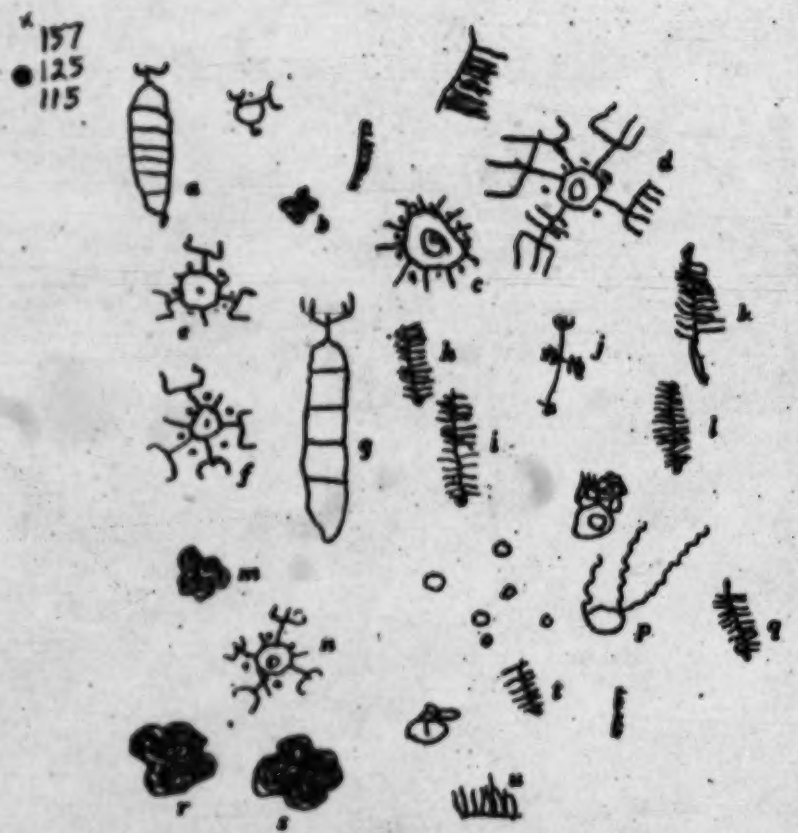

Figure 8. Tilsata Ambari (female), approximately 11 years. *a.* tattoo design. *b.* flower. *c–g.* tattoo designs. *h–i.* ferns. *j.* weed. *k–l.* ferns. *m.* flower. *n.* tattoo design. *o.* stars. *p.* "snake" tuber. *q.* fern. *r–s.* flowers. *t.* fern. *u.* comb.

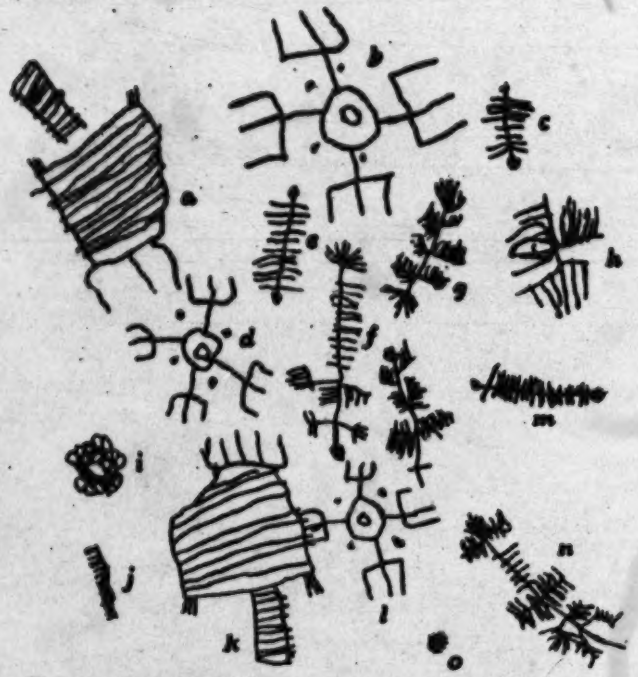

Figure 3. Kolfani Malelaka (female), approximately 12 years. *a.* house. *b.* tattoo design. *c.* fern. *d.* tattoo design. *e.* fern. *f.* cacia tree. *g.* tamarind tree. *h.* fern. *i.* tattoo design. *j.* comb. *k.* house. *l.* tattoo design. *m.* fern. *n.* tree. *o.* star.

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125 128 In addition to this series of free-drawing sessions groups of boys and girls were asked on other occasions to limit themselves to the figures of a man and woman. A few characteristic human forms are reproduced in Figures 10 through 14. An attempt was made to score these drawings according to the Goodenough scale. The best performances of ten boys and ten girls were selected for the purpose. Since the estimates of chronological age are necessarily tentative and since the cross-cultural applicability of the Goodenough scale has not been established, no great weight can be attached to the results. In view of their unreliability it seems undesirable to give the original data. However, it is interesting that the boys rated a test age of about half their chronological age and the girls' scores were even lower.

[115 125]

Figure 10. Padama Manipada (male), approximately 10 years. *a.* his father. *b.* his mother.

This is in marked contrast to a group of Naskapi boys. They were as unfamiliar as the Atimelang children with pencil and paper; their adult art form gave them no greater assistance in representing the human figure, yet their test age approximated their estimated chronological age.* Obviously this comparison tells us nothing about the relative intelligence of Atimelang and Naskapi children, but it does indicate a great difference in aptitudes, adaptation, and the development of skills in the two groups of children.

A point of interest in the drawing of human figures by the children of Atimelang is their inconsistency in representing sex differences, both in respect to body size and to the portrayal of genitals. Women are

* I am indebted to Drs. H. Harlow and W. D. Strong respectively for the scoring and the use of the Naskapi children's drawings.

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Figure 11. Maica Mangma (male), approximately 12 years. *a.* his younger sister. *b.* his older male cousin.

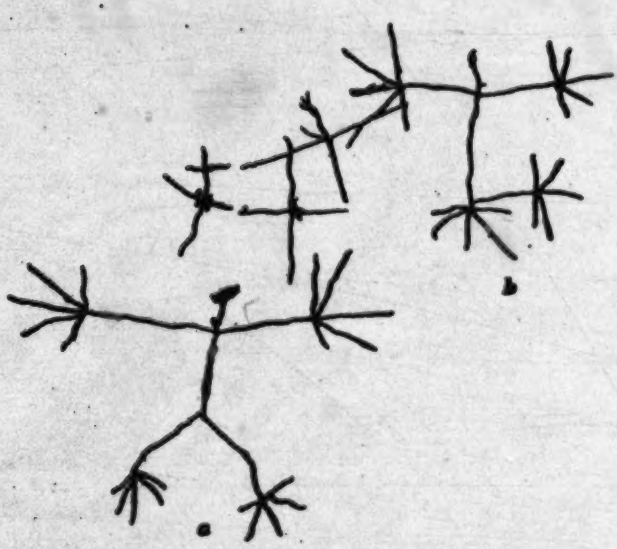

Figure 12. Lomani Manipada (female), approximately 13 years *a.* woman. *b.* man.

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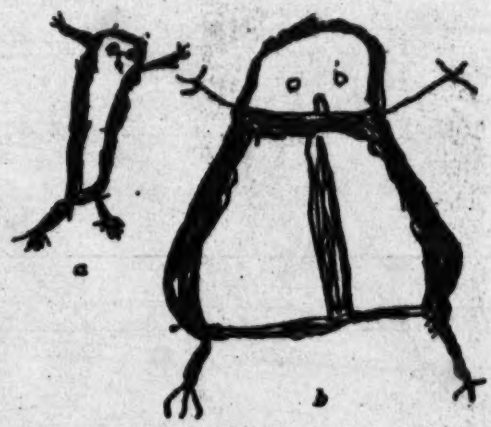

Figure 13. Tilamele Lanpada (female), approximately 12 years. *a.* woman. *b.* man.

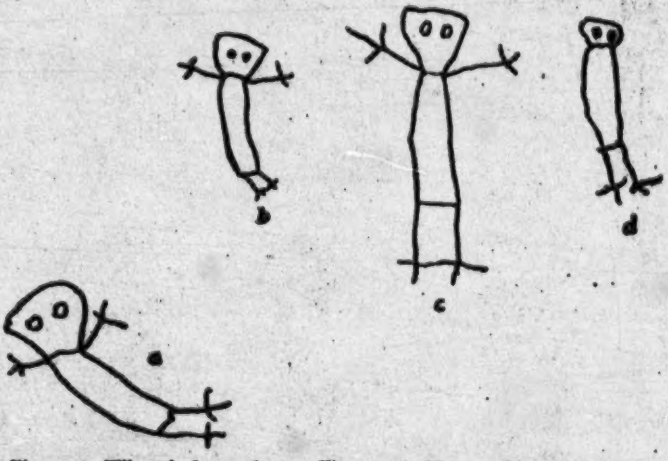

Figure 14. Tilamele Lanpada (see Figure 13). Human figures drawn on the following day. *a.* woman. *b.* man. *c.* woman. *d.* male child.

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Figure 15. A boy of approximately 8 years. *a.* man. *b.* lineage house.

Figure 16. A boy of approximately 7 years. *a.* man. *b.* lineage house.

Figure 17. A boy of approximately 8 years. *a.* "my male cousin sitting on a house with birds on his arms." *b.* lineage house.

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157 the absence of design, composition, and action, as well as the poverty of relationship expression—the Atimelang children are in marked contrast to the previously mentioned Naskapis. The full import of such material will only be known when extensive comparative studies of children's drawings have been made.

Furthermore, over a period of one month, during which at least four boys performed from four to seven times, there was no indication of improvement or of any attempt to cope with the problems mentioned. Admittedly these performances were not numerous and consistent enough to be a fair trial. The matter is mentioned to indicate possibilities for future field workers.

Whether or not opportunities for improvement were adequately tested, the poverty of production in children's drawings might be considered as a further manifestation of the ego inadequacies and paucity of relationship expression which I have stressed as one of the characteristic aspects of personality structure in Atimelang.

125 114 As a further check on my estimates of children's drawings Mrs. Schmidl-Waehner * was called in as a consulting expert to give her impressions of the predominant personality trends evinced in the drawings. Her judgments were based on formal elements and not on content. The task was avowedly difficult, not only because the drawings of primitive children were a new subject for her, but also because my technique was so much cruder than the one she is accustomed to use. The absence of color, the use of only one grade of pencil lead, the lack of choice in paper sizes, and the inadequacy of my observations on the position of children as they drew, as well as their relationships to each other during the sessions, all acted as handicaps in blind diagnosis. However, the marked coincidence between the expert's judgment and other findings is noteworthy.

157 The following comments were made in the course of about an hour and a half of inspection:

1. "They have a feeling of aloneness, as evinced by the lack of strong pressure in the lines and by the neatness of the line itself." (2) "They look like children who have good abilities but are apart from each

* Mrs. Schmidl-Waehner is an Austrian artist with psychoanalytic training who has studied the formal aspects of children's drawings in relation to personality. In Vienna she made longitudinal studies of subjects who were under analytic treatment. In this country she has worked on group studies in the children's wards of the psychiatric department at Bellevue and in the Pleasantville Cottage School. Mrs. Schmidl-Waehner's points of view are expressed in, "Formal Criteria for the Analysis of Children's Drawings," *The American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 11:195 (January 1941).

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other. There are good units but there is never unity." (b) "Their re- [157]
lationships are poverty-stricken, as evinced by the fact that each figure is lost among others." (c) "The absence of free curves suggests an inability to bring themselves affectively into contact with others." At this point the expert was asked why, in view of this, the percentage of human figures was relatively high (7 per cent). The reply was that human figures represented a wish element, as human figures usually do, but that the children showed no resources for realizing these wishes.

2. "They lack a creative approach, as evinced by the smallness of the forms, by the fact that they do not have large conceptions taking up a single sheet, that there is no formal unity, that there are very few free-flowing curves, and that there is a lack of variation in pressure and of spontaneous detail in the lines. Also, they lack the 'differentiated curve' and the 'differentiated rhythm' which are indexes of creativeness." At this point the expert suggested that these children would lack movement responses in the Rorschach test, an opinion which is corroborated by only 1.2 per cent movement responses in seventeen male adult tests.

3. "They realistically estimate bounds, as evinced by the way they stay well within margins and do not begin to draw objects which will spill over the edge of the paper."

4. "They probably have some manual dexterity."

The next step was a cursory examination of twelve randomly se- [125]
lected drawings by boys from six to eight years as compared with the same number of drawings by boys from twelve to fifteen years. The expert almost immediately asked if adolescent boys went through any ceremony or ordeal at this time. She was aware of greater pressure in the pencil strokes and of greater rigidity. The answer to the question may lie in the breaking away from free play groups and the entrance into the difficulties of adult finance that come approximately at this age. The change in lines may also reflect simply an accentuation, with approaching maturity, of the whole character formation of adults.

When twelve randomly selected drawings by girls from six to eight [125]
years were compared with the same number of drawings by girls from twelve to fifteen years, the expert remarked that the girls in general seemed more stereotyped than the boys, which is corroborated in the content analysis on pages 567–68; that the younger girls showed about the same pressure values as the older boys; and that, perhaps, the older girls were somewhat less stereotyped than the younger ones.

In discussing adult art forms, the point was made that the Javanese design elements on mokos were not copied by either adults or children,

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157 although mokos are highly prized. Mrs. Schmidl-Waehner's reaction to this and to the foregoing inspection of children's drawings was that these people indicate an inability to digest what is in the world about them, that they are probably excitable but unable to utilize their environment, and that they probably possess strong introversive and extroversive traits which do not come together.

[125] In addition to the foregoing inspection, Mrs. Schmidl-Waehner studied more closely drawings of human figures. Out of sixty-four such figures drawn by boys of their own volition, fifty-two, or 81 per cent, were represented without sex organs, and fifty-five, or 85 per cent, were two-dimensional or transitional to two dimensions. It is assumed that these two factors represent a free tendency in the subjects. When, however, the boys were requested to draw only a man and a woman, fourteen figures out of twenty, or 70 per cent, were two-dimensional, and thirteen, or 65 per cent, had no sex organs. That is, under compulsion, or at least when demands were made, boys tended to vary from their representational norms. The question of interpretation arises.

Mrs. Schmidl-Waehner suggested that these two-dimensional figures, especially the transitional aspects of them, indicate a realistic tendency in the personality. The omission of sex organs, in view of the awareness of anatomy possessed by these children, indicates either very strong castration fears or their opposite, an absence of concern about sex. Other data would indicate that the latter is the case. The important association emerges, namely, that realistic tendencies and sexual unconcern appear in the same proportions in free drawings and vary commensurately under demand. This would suggest that external and realistic factors in life might be expected to affect sex activities coordinately. Certainly there is much in the chapter on adolescence and marriage to support this suggestion.

Further, the decrease in factors representing realism and sexual unconcern when the boys were drawing human figures on request, indicates that the children function less freely under demand. This may reflect an area of ego anxiety centering about the ability to respond adequately. They would seem to meet such anxiety with an increase in rigidity. This tendency seems to coincide with the fright response of "freezing" which is so characteristic of the Alorese that it has been frequently commented upon by Europeans who know them only superficially.

One further point deserves comment. It will be recalled that human figures were rare in free drawings by girls. There were only three. In

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Chapter 22

Rorschach's Experiment and the Alorese

BY EMIL OBERHOLZER *

The following summary covers: (1) procedure, (2) quantitative results of the test findings, (3) interpretation of affectivity, (4) variability and the individual, (5) sex differences.

PROCEDURE

The test was given by the ethnographer to thirty-seven Alorese, seventeen males and twenty females. The scoring of the records and their computations, their interpretations and the evaluation of the findings, were made subsequently by me in New York.

I hesitated to undertake this task for more than one reason. Not only was I confronted for the first time with the tests of individuals other than Europeans and Americans, but I did not know the norms of these people and had no way of working them out. I did not know the average of the numerical values for the various experimental factors. They must be widely different from ours, since there are even striking differences between the findings in the population groups of various sections of Switzerland. These differences are evident both in the experimental findings and in the psychology of these population groups as well as in the clinical pictures of mental disorders, notably schizophrenia. This is a point which Rorschach set forth in his *Psychodiagnostics* (1921).†

Among the Alorese, I do not know, for example, what is an original and what is a popular answer; I do not know the border line between a normal and a small detail, since I do not know with certainty what constitutes with them normal and small details. I even have no reliable basis for qualifying a form. I do not know with certainty what form answer is to be scored as *good* or *bad*. In working out the norms it may turn out that a form answer which I consider poor according to my experience with Europeans, is good in the Alorese, and vice versa. Or, to put it briefly, I lack the statistical basis that underlies our scoring of European material.

* I am deeply indebted to Margaret Wing of New York, who gave so lavishly of her time and linguistic acumen to this chapter.

† See English translation, pp. 96–97, 107, and 112, published by Hans Huber, Berne, Switzerland, 1942; distributed in the U.S.A. by Grune & Stratton, Inc., New York.

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Despite this deficiency in the fundamentals which are indispensable from a methodological standpoint for a systematic study of this kind, I undertook the task, since there existed no possibility of complying with those requirements in the case of the Alorese. There are no more than thirty-seven Rorschachs and they are not likely to be increased in number. To work out norms we need at least some hundred or more tests, perhaps more than there are Atimelangers. There is little hope that standards will ever be established.

I looked around, therefore, for some other way of solving this problem. The psychological meaning and significance of Rorschach's experimental factors have proved true for Europeans and Americans. I consequently applied these principles to a few Alorese and checked the results with the ethnographer's statements concerning the psychological background of these individuals. Many hours were spent assigning rank order to subjects for personality traits. The ethnographer worked from her knowledge of the individuals; I worked blind from the Rorschach materials. The degree of coincidence between our ranking was so high that it left no doubt that the principles of the test could be applied cross-culturally.

It was much harder to discover what the Alorese have in common among themselves and in what respects their mentality differs from that of Europeans and Americans. The common features of their findings strike the eye from the beginning and seem to cover up individual variations. I had to get at what was new to me in their tests. For this purpose I had to resort to similar manifestations in psychopathology, to borrow from it, and finally to combine a whole set of considerations. That means that the approach to what the Alorese have in common was only possible by comparison and analogy and by modifying the conclusions I had reached on this basis. I shall return to this subject when we deal with these unfamiliar features in their records and with the implications of these features for the life of the emotions.

Resorting to analogy, I believe, was justified—all the more so since this material is excellent in itself, even though there are some shortcomings which are unavoidable. Among several hundred answers there are some which cannot be classified as movement, form, or color responses but may be all three of them. There are others that cannot be located, so they have to be eliminated. It is not easy to give a test correctly and to record everything that belongs in it; this difficulty is obviously increased when one is working with primitive peoples. Some records of Papuans of New Guinea transmitted to me by Dr. David Levy, who first introduced Rorschach's experiment in America, could not be scored

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114 because the precise location of the greater number of the answers was missing.

114 128 The scoring of the thirty-seven Alorese cases cannot be presented in detail, but it is possible to summarize the responses and the findings by categories. I must confine myself to some general statements based first of all, though not exclusively, on the seventeen male Rorschachs. The findings of the females are of the same type, exhibiting, on the whole, even more than those of the male Alorese, the striking peculiarities of their tests and those factors in which they differ from Americans and Europeans.

125 ## QUANTITATIVE RESULTS OF THE TEST FINDINGS

The experimental records are examined according to the following scheme:

1. How many responses are produced? What is the reaction time?
2. Is the picture conceived and interpreted as a whole or in parts, and which are the parts interpreted?
3. Is the answer determined only by the form, or is there also a movement or color element in it?
4. How is this whole picture, or any part of it, interpreted as regards content?

The results of the whole-part issue in the male Alorese are these:

TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONSES: 496

		Male Alorese	*Male Swiss*
W	(whole answers)	87 (55—) = 17.5% ∓	30.2% ±
D	(normal details)	288 = 58.1%	62.9%
Dd	(small and unusual details)	121 (61—) = 24.4% ∓	6.9% ±
		496	

One among the above-stated Dd is also a Do (see later the average findings). The signs ± and ∓ mean predominance of good forms, and vice versa.

128 114 When I compare the Alorese with Europeans I refer only to Swiss for statistical purposes, since Europeans other than Swiss are considerably in the minority among my normal material—normal, that is to say, in the sense of showing no peculiarities, or only a minimum of them.

125 In combination with other experimental factors the proportion of whole, detail, and small detail answers and the quality of the forms (F+ and F—) are first of all, though not exclusively, the represents-

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. tions of intellectual functioning, a measure of intelligence. The widest 125
difference between the Alorese and the Swiss shows in the number of small details (24.4% and 6.9%); there are almost four times as many as in my normal Swiss material. Proportionally the Alorese are low in their percentage of whole responses, and about two thirds (63.2%) of their W are poor or bad, whereas the W in Europeans are predominantly good or even excellent (see Sex Differences).

The representations of affectivity, of emotional life and character, 157
are these:

TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONSES: 496

	Male Alorese		*Male Swiss*
F (form answers)	358 (196—)	= 72.1% ∓	72.9% ±
M (movement answers)	4	= 0.8%	9.3%
C (color reactions)	134	= 27.0%	17.8%
	496		

The difference between the Alorese and Europeans is more marked in the percentage of responses indicating affectivity than in those which indicate intellect. This will become still more evident in statements which are to follow.

The male Alorese have 27.0% color reactions among the total of their responses in comparison to only 17.8% in the Swiss, and, on the other hand, the Swiss show an almost twelve-times-greater percentage of movement answers — interpretations in which the picture, or parts of it, are seen in action. The seventeen male Alorese present only 4 M and the twenty females only 1, or 0.24 and 0.05 on an average for each individual. In a Swiss who has as many color reactions as are shown by the Alorese, those decimals, 0.24 and 0.05, which signify practically no movement answers, are characteristic of mental, or at least very serious neurotic, disorders. The more there exists a predominance of the C over the M, the less there exist self-control and balance of mind.

However, the Alorese and the Swiss have at least one thing in common: the greater number of their reactions to Rorschach's pictures are form answers, interpretations that are determined by the shape and outline of the picture or its parts. And this dominating reaction type exhibits the same percentages, namely, 73.2% for the thirty-seven Alorese and 72.1% for the Swiss; for the males 72.2% and 72.9% respectively. The surplus of the color reactions in the Alorese is produced at the expense of the movement responses.

It is hard to say exactly what are the implications of the fact that the

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to the F+%, the W and their quality; the majority of the upper half ranks on the level of our morons. But, with regard both to the representations of emotional life and to the rest of the "intellectual" factors, the total of their findings is widely different from the average findings of our morons and feeble-minded, and the departures are the greater the nearer we come to the bottom of that order. Those remaining intellectual factors are the apperceptive type and the sequence, the percentages of animal interpretations (A%), and the original answers (O%). For the Alorese I counted as an original answer each response that occurs only once; among them, however, we find those responses that are most common in Europeans and Americans, i.e., the so-called popular answers. Only a few, apparently the most intelligent ones among these seventeen male Alorese, reach the level of our average intelligent with an IQ of about 85. At the top ranks Fantan the Interpreter (see later), and next to him Mangma the Chief and Johanis. Within the limits of this contribution I cannot say more about this problem; a full presentation of the Alorese intelligence would be a study in itself.

One remaining factor of the whole-part issue which has emotional significance is a special form of the Dd. It is the space figure interpretation by which the white portions of the pictures are interpreted. When these S coincide with many color reactions or better, with a predominance of these reactions over the movement answers, they express outgoing opposition or oppositional tendencies, like defiance, antagonism, argumentative behavior, and so forth. In the Alorese, even though they exhibit, in addition to the dominating black, a greater tendency to concentrate on the white color than is shown by the number of their S (there are white reactions other than S), these space figure interpretations are less frequent than in the normal Swiss (1:3), which is in conformity with the Alorese passive streak. Submission and opposition do not preclude each other but are not in tune with one another. The less frequent occurrence of S is another expression of the Alorese passive attitude.

VARIABILITY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

In this section I turn to the individual and some facts concerning the variability of the Alorese. Before giving blind diagnoses for some of them, I have to make a series of statements concerning the ways of getting at the individual's personality and psychological background.

It is obvious that statements of personality diagnosis must be based

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In the blind diagnoses I put in parentheses references to the test findings from which a statement was drawn. The flow of characterization is inevitably disturbed by this procedure, but it is the only one by which such references can be made briefly. To infer a blind diagnosis from the findings in a perfectly conclusive way needs, not unlike the presentation of a psychoanalysis, a manuscript in itself (see my analysis of a single case in the *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Neurologie und Psychiatrie*, 1931). The scoring of the F, the Dd, and the original answers (O) was partly based on my experience with Europeans, partly on the ethnographer's statements. It is understood that this procedure is a mere expedient, but it proved practicable since the results which led to a ranking list of intelligence in the males were in keeping with the ethnographer's own list. The Roman numerals refer to the number of the card, and the letters, a, b, c, and d, to the position of the card at which an interpretation was produced, starting from the normal position (a) and turning a card clockwise in positions b, c, and d. Locations, which are always related to the normal position (a) of the card, are placed in parentheses. Questions or statements by the ethnographer are in brackets. Conf. means confabulation.

Rilpada the Seer, 35 Years of Age

I.	(1) is this a large cloud? (W)	WF(C)—	cloud	
	(2) a big cloud with a tree (middle figure) between the clouds	DF—	tree	
	(3) rats (top of side figures)	DdF—	A	
	(4) men (the headlike projections of the lower contour of side figures, a)	DdF+	Hd	
	(5) wings of a night bird (wings of side figures)	DoF+	Ad	
	(6) two men (each half of middle figure) are standing in a cloud	DM+	H	
II.	(1) a house (whole black plus central point) with	DF±	house	
	(2) the sun between (white space) and	SwhF—	sun	
	(3) flowers above the house (lateral red)	DCF—	plant	
	the white is the sun and			
	(4) the red are its rays when it rises (long projections of medial red)	DdF±	sunrays	
	(5) the black is not like clouds but like the sea	Dbl	sea	
III.	(1) these are evil spirits (the "waiters" without legs) and these (the legs) are their children	DF+	spirits	Conf.
	(2) these are boats (legs)	DF+	boats	
IV.	(1) a monkey (W)	WF+	A	
	(2) evil spirits (the snakelike appendixes)	DF—	spirits	
V.	(1) evil spirits (the bat's ears)	DdF—	spirits	
	(2) evil spirits (the lower projections)	DdF—	spirits	

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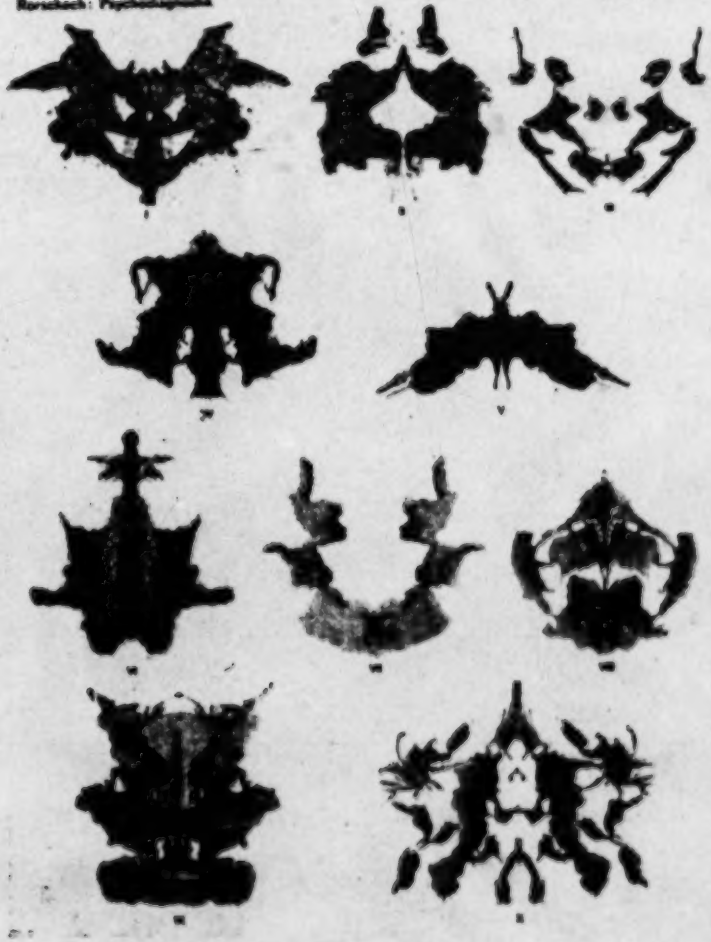

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even kind and gentle when he comes to know people, but without 59[r]
showing the Alorese sweetness and submissiveness. Like an introvert he is the opposite of an outgoing, hail-fellow-well-met type, not unresponsive, but without individualized contact like Fanseni (no FC). He is rather of an egocentric responsiveness and is far from outspoken; he is self-contained and undemonstrative. He is not without self-control (2 to 3 M : 3 CF) and has even, on the whole, a good mastery of affect. He is neither expansive nor carried away by emotions, as might happen to Malelaka, for instance, in a flush of exuberance, and he is unlikely to have emotional outbursts and to show the usual ups and downs of the Alorese. *But he is easily puzzled and upset* in emotional situations, even to the point of perplexity when he loses his habitual perspective and judgment, so that he becomes helpless, as is shown by his reaction to picture I. This is his main affective deficiency, not so much in comparison with the other Alorese but in comparison with normal Europeans. He lacks the self-confidence congruous to his superior intellect, is timid and on his guard, which is in keeping with his black color-shock and which contributes to the introversive side of his character. Thus, not even this Alorese, who of all his people shows the most advanced empirical thinking and who, because of his personality, must be a stranger among them, is free from the fundamental Alorese attitude of fear and distrust.

The numerical values of the fundamental Alorese factors W, Dd, 125
F+%, and A%, the CΣ and bl-whΣ, and their minus and plus deviations from the average can be stated in series from the minimum to the maximum value or the maximum minus to the maximum plus deviation. The same applies to Rorschach's mode of experience, if we use the quotients of MΣ/CΣ or CΣ/MΣ. But whereas the proportion between the M's and the color total is very revealing, these quotients do not signify very much since they do not state anything about the quantities of the bl-whΣ and CΣ and their components. The quotients may be the same for two or more Alorese whose experience modes are different, like those of Likma and Mangma the Chief, for instance, which show 5.0 = 2blF + 2bl ; 3.0 = 2C and 2.5 = 1blF + 1bl : 1.5 = 1C respectively; or as shown among the females by Lonmai with 1.5 = 1bl : 1.0 = 1CF, Lonmani with 3.0 = 3blF : 2.0 = 2CF, and Kolmau with even 12.0 = 6blF + 4bl : 8.0 = 5CF + 2C respectively. In the series of the quotients these males and females meet at points 1.67 or 0.60 and 1.50 or 0.67 respectively.

Affectivity and emotional disposition need presentation in a square

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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● 125 dimension. In such an arrangement, with Rorschach's "emotional coordination system" as a basis, the absolute figures of bl-wh Σ and CΣ increase, reading from the top to the bottom. In the middle column are Rorschach's ambiequivalent types, whose bl-wh Σ and CΣ equal each other. The top and bottom present two of the four extreme possibilities. At the top are the findings with form interpretations alone which occur among these thirty-seven Alorese only twice in the females. At the bottom are the findings with numbers of bl-wh reactions matched by numbers of color responses — Rorschach's dilated types. To the left of the central column in the field in which the bl-wh Σ predominates, reading from the middle to the left, the bl-wh Σ is seen to remain constant, while the CΣ decreases. In the right half of the table the CΣ remains constant and the bl-wh Σ is on the decrease. It follows that the relative amount of the bl-wh Σ increases from right to left as the CΣ decreases and vice versa, reading the table from left to right. The extreme left and right columns, therefore, represent the other two extremes, i.e., black-white only (color absent) and true colors only (black-white absent).

In the following charts the Alorese are contrasted with the normal Swiss, reduced for purposes of comparison to the same number of individuals. The modes of experience of the Swiss are underscored. In the chart for male Alorese the name appears under the mode of experience. In both charts the figures of the average numerical values are set in boldface. In this scheme all the possibilities of relationships between the M *sive* bl-wh Σ and the color total can be listed. We see the overwhelming
✕ 157 majority of the Alorese on the right side and most of them within a triangle between the two diagonals, near the apex of which we find the Alorese average, represented almost exactly by Rilpada's 3.5 : 5.5. Only a few are on the left side, spreading from the top to the bottom. Mangma the Chief and Fatseni are representative of Rorschach's coartative types, with a comparatively small number of bl-wh and C; Atafeni is an extreme example of the dilated type.

All this is widely different from the distribution of the normal Swiss, half of whom are seen in the upper triangle, with almost an equal number to the left and to the right of the middle line. Their average is near the middle line, somewhat to the left of it and much nearer to the top than that of the Alorese. The rest of the Swiss are found in the left- (5) and righthand triangles (3). The maximum concentration of the Swiss is, therefore, on the left side (10 individuals), that of the Alorese on the right side (13 individuals); most of the Alorese are